3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster.

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years.

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

585 ingless 'How do you do?' They have nice smiling cheery faces
576 and a way of appearing pleased to see one, which is most disarming. Some of them are startlingly beautiful in the regular Aryan style, with pencilled eyebrows, straight noses and oval faces; others have broad, rather flat faces like the Kirghiz, but laughter comes so easily to them that even the plain faces become attractive."

586 In nine cases out of ten, according to Murad Qari, these child-marriages *de convenance* are failures and soon dissolved. For the husband, there is no difficulty about a divorce; all he has to do is to go to the Qazi—the woman's presence is not necessary—and put his seal on an affidavit (*jai*) to the effect that he divorces his wife; this affidavit costs him two tenga (4*d*.) and the thing is done. Lawful conditions and terms, if any, are included in the *jai*, which also states whether the divorce is to be *ba'in* (permanent) or *raja'i* (non-binding).[1]

A wife cannot divorce her husband without his consent; all she can do is to leave him and wait till he divorces her, when she can marry some one else after 100 days. As he can marry again at once and as often as he likes up to a total number of four wives at a time, he is in a strong position and can exact his own terms. These generally include the waiving of the *mihr*, and as low a figure as possible for the maintenance of the woman and any children there may be. In most cases it is the woman who is the suppliant, and the man who "gives her a paper," i.e. *jai* or affidavit of divorce. Sometimes she pays quite a large sum for it; but this is illegal and must not be mentioned in the *jai*. In other cases she induces the man to let her go by giving up the furniture and utensils she brought with her to his house.

586 Let me give one or two illustrations of the working of this curious system. Our coachman, Abdulla, was a much-
• 595 married man. He went one better than the celebrated guard on the Paris-Lyons-Méditerranée, who had one wife and establishment in Paris and another at Marseilles, each unaware of the other's existence; for he kept a wife at Yarkand (whither he often accompanied us on tour) and *two* at Kashgar, one of them living at the Consulate and the other in the town. All went well until one day news reached the Consulate wife not only that the Yarkand lady existed, but that she proposed coming to Kashgar. As Mrs. Abdulla No. 1 wailed to D., "It's bad enough his marrying that dreadful person in

[1] From the Arabic root *raja'a*, "return," the wife being lawfully permitted to re-marry the same husband. After *ba'in* divorce this is illegal.

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

the bazaar—if this Yarkandlik comes here I don't know what will happen!" However, not long afterwards glad news came to the effect that the Yarkand wife's late husband, who had been to Leh trading, had come back and had been so annoyed with her for marrying Abdulla (her divorce had only been a *raja'i* or "non-binding" one) that he had promptly slit her nose! Neither of Abdulla's Kashgar wives was afraid of her after that.

D.'s maid, Aisha Khan, who was by profession a laundry-woman, had a good-for-nothing husband who had lived on her for years and refused to grant her a divorce. In the spring of 1924 he married another laundry-woman and began spending her money too—a *double* "washerwoman's husband." It was not till just before we left that Aisha Khan, by offering to give up all the household property she had brought with her on marriage, induced him to divorce her. This was not the only case of "washerwoman's husband" we came across. The wife of one of the Consulate staff employed a fine strapping woman-servant, the wife of an under-sized nonentity in the bazaar who never did a hand's turn. D. spoke to the Consulate lady about this woman, asking whether she was unhappy and whether the man was not ashamed to live on his wife. "Oh, no," was the reply, "he is a very good husband to So-and-so, very *yawash* (quiet) and tame; sits at home quietly and does not interfere with her comings and goings or make trouble in any way. She tells people that he works and is earning good money; but every one knows that he lives on her."

The weakness of their position and the looseness of the marriage tie undoubtedly bear hardly on women in towns, who have no security in their home life. Cases are only too frequent of wives legally deserted by their husbands with one or more children to look after and insufficient maintenance or none at all. Babies are often left on the steps of mosques on festival days, perhaps to be adopted by some good Mussulman, perhaps not. But it must be remembered that conditions are much more healthy among the country people; while even in the towns the position of women is not nearly so bad as in most Muhammadan countries. Only the wives of the wealthiest are strictly veiled, and even they visit each other's houses, as in Persia. The women of the middle and lower classes have their own riding-donkeys and do their shopping in the bazaars freely; as often as not it is the wife

B. The Western (Oirat) Mongols (See also IMAR, Social Structure)

563 175 After the decline of the Mongolian Empire in the 14th century, the Western Mongols (the tribes Choros, Khoit, Khoshut and Torgut) of Dzungaria established the so-called Oirat Federation. [671] Its social structure is best summarized in the Oirat codex Chaghajachi yin bichik "Book of the Judges", based on the Jassa of Chingis Khan.

563 596 [595] [671] [851] Life within the extended family is absolutely patriarchal. Although polygyny is not mentioned in the codex it is an accepted part of the society. The children of concubines are legitimate. The order of precedence among the children depends on the social status of their mothers.

563 428 After the father's death, the eldest son inherits everything, including the father's wives and concubines with the exception of his own mother. Inheritance as well as descent follows the male line.

563 614 583 Among the Western Mongols clan exogamy is strictly observed, especially among the Torguts and Khoshuts of Sinkiang. Marriage entails the payment of a bride-price of at least two horses, two cows and twelve sheep. The bride-price for an aristocratic girl is considerably higher and consists of several dozen camels, horses and sheep. If a wife is divorced she is not permitted to take with her anything which has been given to her by her husband.

563 631 According to the Chaghajachi-yin bichik the Oirats were organized into ail, khoshun (banners) and aimak. In Sinkiang there are two khoshun of Torguts, one khoshun of Khoshuts and seven khoshun of Uriangkhai. The Khoshuts of the Alashan Area and the Torguts of the Edsin Gol Area each constitute one khoshun. Each khoshun lives on land and pastures with well-defined boundaries.

563 565 The same source details the various strata of Oirat society. It subdivides the entire Oirat population into three groups. The nobility (taiji) belong to the first group, the darkhans (soldiers, warriors, flag-bearers who are tax-exempt people) belong to the second group, and the kara kümüm (plebians) belong to the third group. Cutting across these other divisions is the highly respected group of monks (Llama, Ho-brog or pandit) who are also tax-exempt.

563 565 554 The Oirat princes are subdivided into six different ranks: a) Ch'in-Wang b) Chün-Wang c) Beile c) Beise d) Chen-kuo-kung and f) Hu-kuo-kung. The Oirat taijis have four ranks, e.g., the ruling leader of a khoshun who is called khoshun-u jasak is a taiji of the first rank. Besides these ranks honorary titles exist such as: erdeni "jewel", darkhan "master", tüsiyetü "pillar, support", daiching "hero", dalai "ocean" and batur "hero" etc. The Khoshun-u jasak is the ruler of his banner. Commoners [651] pay him tribute in the form of cattle or agricultural products.

/The New Uighurs/

563 565 A small percentage of these landlords have invested their wealth exclusively in irrigation projects since water constitutes the most profitable commodity.

563 565 793 [801] 3. The rest of the New Uighur population is subdivided into the following social groupings: a. The clergy (Muezzin, Iman, Mullah, etc.) constitutes a very important segment of the social structure. In its hands the education of the youth rested up to 1949, and it played an important role in shaping the character of the community. As the representatives of the mosque, they are not only the spiritual leaders of the community, but they are also the administrators of the land belonging to the mosque.

563 565 795 [423] This land came into the possession of the mosque as bequests from pious Moslems. Thus, the mosque is not only a spiritual, but also an economic, center. In addition, the mosque serves as a social welfare institution, in that it cares for all those persons of the community who are unable to make a living.

563 565 441 b. The merchants constitute the last segment of the New Uighur class structure. After the Arab conquest of Inner Asia, the merchants enlarged and promoted existing trade centers, thereby acquiring greater wealth and influence. It is noteworthy that most merchants in the Northwest are Moslems. In their hands rest not only most economic activities, but also the dissemination of Turkic and Arab culture. In the merchant ranks, the Chinese found willing and able officials who enjoyed the same privileges as did the Chinese administrators. However, in the Moslem uprisings, these officials aligned themselves with the Moslem population, and often assumed leadership in these movements of rebellion against the Chinese rulers. It may be presumed that to a large extent the Moslem uprisings in the Northwest were incited by the merchants.

563 [591] Among the New Uighurs residence is bilocal. Dwellings are usually occupied by extended families who either form an economic unit, or work as individuals or a family group on the fields or irrigation projects of a wealthy landowner. Polygamy [595] is practiced by the wealthier Moslems, especially the merchants [556] of Sinkiang, who have wives at different trading centers and therefore become the masters of several family units. The [851] children resulting from these marriages are all treated as equals. Inheritance follows the rules of primogeniture. In [428] contrast to the nomadic peoples of Sinkiang, whose women oc- [562] cupy a relatively high and valuable position, the women of the sedentary peoples of the same area, the Turkic women, are held in low esteem. The Sinkiang nomad must buy his bride

S
N over the members of the household. Full obedience and respect
592 is expected from the children, who are obliged to take care of
593 their parents when the latter reach old age.

S Islam allows a man to have more than one wife. The truly
N religious person will not exceed four wives.
595
709

S Islam grew in a tribal society and retained many of the
N loyalty concepts relating to the tribes. After his own family, a
779 man owes loyalty to his tribe. This attitude is strongly reflected
829 in the religious writings. As Islam spread, these concepts were carried to societies, other than those residing in the Arabian Peninsula.

II. The Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang

S
A. Family Organization

121 In this discussion the concept of family refers to a unit con-
592 sisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption and having a common budget and common property. Persons remaining in the family and those temporarily absent are included. Servants or relatives temporarily visiting with the family are considered members of the household, but not members of the family unit.

S Among the Turkic Moslems of Sinkiang the family consists of
592 a man, his wife or wives, and their unmarried children. In some
563 cases it may also include their divorced or widowed daughters. Occasionally the married sons stay with their family for a short period. Each family unit occupies its own separate house. One may have a few households to take care of, in the case that one has
S more than one wife. Polygamy is permitted according to Islamic
595 law. However, the majority of the men and particularly the peas-
563 ants, cannot afford to keep more than one wife at a time. Wealthier people and well-to-do travelling merchants often have more than one household. Each wife is usually kept in a different section of town, or in different towns altogether (this is the case when the husbands are merchants and officials who travel to a great extent). The familiar harem of other Moslem countries hardly exists as
S such in Sinkiang. The individualism of the women, the freedom
[562] allowed to them and their jealous nature and temperament make
[152] it impossible for a man to keep more than one wife under the same roof. This factor complicates the nature of the nuclear structure of the family, and sometimes results in one man's having similar obligations to more than one household.

S Families usually are large, regardless of their wealth or pov-
563 erty. It is considered a disgrace for a woman not to have many
[162] children. This is one reason why a man often prefers to marry
[587] a divorced woman with child (a son preferably), who has already proved her ability to bear children.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family. The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr, a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawanchi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather